/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

• 346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[782]

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477]

/321 cont./

175
• 346
778

/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to; and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

[796]
[237]
[301]

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

175
346
[353]
[532]

This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

175
346
[353]
[532]

/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346 nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

771 /322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the

776 Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

177 182 [171] sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand, [342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments [796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a • [346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are 177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness. 291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper 182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

[342] When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men
• [346] called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the
[574] house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping
796 ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and
184 the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-